42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA1
Isneg

that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokó or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciananá-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ãma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

461 of their products to the members of other tribes living in less favored
251 surroundings. Why should they have worked for things with which
433 they could do nothing? Add to this that their needs have always
487 been so very small that they would not have known what to do with
the money that would have been given them in exchange for their
152 crops.

It may perhaps be hoped that the members of the younger generation will be less deserving of the reputation of laziness rightly affixed to the Isneg name, as they have never seen the fat years of their fathers, and so will more or less become inured to hard work. But when the years of plenty are again at the door, will they resist the temptation of resting from their exertions? Civilization is bringing them new needs, and roads are being opened to allow them to get rid advantageously of their superfluous crops: so there may be change.

461 On one of my first visits to Nagbabalayan, I was sitting one evening
with a large group of Isneg, old and young, on the porch of the
152 teacher's house. It was dark, and the Isneg were asking questions about sun and moon, about light and darkness, etc. So it happened in the course of the conversation that I referred to the protracted darkness of the regions around the poles, where the sun would not rise for months at a time. On hearing this, a young Isneg man, quite exultant at the prospect, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "What a fine thing! Not to have to work for months!" I wish we were living in a place like that". That's the Isneg; how he would curse old Adam, if he could but read the first chapters of Genesis.

152 The Isneg are also very easily dejected in time of sickness, and at the approach of any kind of hardship. The Karagawan case just mentioned would perhaps better have been placed here: it was really a case of utter dejection on account of the terrible famine that desolated their settlement, a thing they had never yet expericneed in their whole life.

A few months ago I went down the Apayaw, and at a certain moment one of my rowers inadvertently cut himself with a headax that was lying on the bottom of the canoe: the wound was not at all serious, but the man lost a good amount of blood. For more than an hour he remained sitting in the boat without moving his oar, his face the picture of utter woe and desolation: you might have thought he was in a dying condition. He arose from his stupor and was his old self again only a long time after the blood had stopped flowing. Avoidance of hardship, not endurance, is a part of the Isneg system; hence their poor resistance to the blows of an adverse fortune.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalódag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaŋ*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

"Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Ilоko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

"Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sāy-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napaníláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
● 152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
577 ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly.
181 His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
577 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
626 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
82] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

A CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF HATAN AND HIS FAMILY

152 Abbiawan went on an adventure to seek for re-
893 nown in brave deeds because he envied his brother
578 Ewagan for being a such a famous warrior. Abbia-
wan set forth to try to kill Ewagan. Then all the brothers, well armed with spears, accompanied Abbiawan, intending to kill their brother, Ewagan. A fight ensued between the brothers. Finding out that that their brother Ewagan could not be killed, they decided to challenge Ewagan one by one, with shield and spear.

578 Abbiawan and Ewagan first faced each other. While the fight was going on between these two brothers, Imlang joined in to help Abbiawan. At the first attack of Ewagan on his two brothers, the shield of Imlang was cut to pieces and Imlang called for help from his other brothers. When he called for help, Haowan volunteered to challenge Ewagan.

Another fight ensued. At the first attack of Ewagan, the shield of Haowan was also cut in pieces. Because Haowan could no longer withstand the attack, he withdrew and cried for help. Hinadolan came to his aid. They fought with spears.

In this fight Ewagan was a bit afraid of Hinadolan because his spear was very big and a shield would not stop it. So Ewagan retreated. All of a sudden, Ewagan fiercely renewed the attack in the

Hatan and Dinawigan, his wife, mourned and 152
almost committed suicide because they could not find their son Ewagan and his sister. When Dipparo saw the pair, he told them to go to their mother, who was looking for them. But they had promised never to return. Instead, they stayed with Dipparo. The parents and other brothers became beside themselves [58] [57] with grief because they could not find Ewagan and Hinalingan, and almost killed anyone whom they met in the way.

Dipparo intoxicated Ewagan with *basi* so that he would talk louder. Hinadolan rode on his horse in the sky. Hearing the voice of his brother, he came down immediately. In order that Ewagan should not be frightened, he hid in the grass and sent his horse ahead to meet Ewagan. Upon seeing the horse, Ewagan recognized at once that it was that of Hinadolan. He asked the horse why it was there. It answered that Hinadolan was fighting their enemies. Upon hearing this, Ewagan was very worried. The horse said that he would bring Hinadolan if Ewagan would promise to follow them. Ewagan agreed; so the horse went to bring Hinadolan to the house of Dipparo where Ewagan was living. When Ewagan saw his brother, he greatly pitied him as his brother had become very thin while looking for him.

Hinadolan persuaded Ewagan to go and visit his mother because she was pining away and nearly dying, longing for Ewagan. But Ewagan renewed his vow not to stay with him; but went on to his own house in Pindayan. Dipparo also followed them. 000
On their way they found Imlang almost dying because

152 When they had come below Dombilan, Ewagan shouted and the whole *barangay* faded away. Upon reaching the river, Ewagan started to take a bath; but the river was ashamed and suddenly all the water disappeared. When Hinadolan saw it, he became angry, and so the river returned and was full of fish swmiming toward. Ewagan. When they saw him, they were ashamed and swam away.

As Ewagan approached his father's house, he cried because he was ashamed to meet Hatan. When Hatan saw his son, at once he announced a big feast.

000

To Guimbangonan

THE COURTSHIP OF EWAGAN

(Nabaungan River Dialect—Tune: *sammelay*)

Wadcano-uen co iyan iya mablang ñga nagan.
Oh! glittering, glorious, a man of extraordinary power:
Kia dinacligan iganam cabalayan ta anadan.
Into his room his sister came to make,
Ket so menot gomayanggang cano ga cabalacyad
By her magical power, her brother Ewagan
Ta mapen can co guiyan ne asang Guimbangonan.
Looks like a brilliant golden being; ready to start for his courtship of Guimbangonan, a lovely-looking girl.
Icao man yo ayayam ippan nacco Dudongan kito guiya nato bongngan.
On his way to Dudongan, his lovely bird (*gattulayan*) brought him side by side to Guimbangonan.

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linadolan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

684 836 [152] When the brothers found out that their sister was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

000 for those old dishes?" he said. The men began to think that probably the puppy was not really a puppy. They noticed that when it sat down, it always sat beside Enoy, who was his father. He said his name was Magnac. The men divided the meat of the wild pig and went home. But Ewagan, uncle of the boy, stayed behind in order, he said, to help the puppy to carry his share of the meat. Then the puppy changed back into a boy. Ewagan asked: "Where is your share?" The boy said: "Maybe the dogs ate it." Instead he had taken it into the magic house which the men could not see. The boy persuaded Ewagan to go to his house. He followed his nephew and found a wonderful house in the place where they had caught the wild pig. He was ashamed to enter it; but the boy finally persuaded him to go in and told him all about who he was.

The next day Dinkoan and Linadolan and Enoy went hunting for the third time in the same place. The dogs again caught a pig there, and Ewagan came out of the house and explained to Enoy that the puppy was his son. Enoy did not go home that day. Ewagan went home with his cousins. Enoy slept with his
842 son in the house. Ewagan had explained to him how Lananan had eaten the bundle of rice which Enoy had used while bathing and so became pregnant. He advised Enoy to stay there and work and help Lananan and the boy; because they were truly his wife and son.
[152] Enoy was ashamed because the son had not come in the regular way. The woman said that her brothers did not like that way either and wanted a ceremony to be held so that the marriage would be regular. She

ETKAN AND HIS ROAD TO THE SKY

(In the Nabuangan River Dialect)

000 *"Negyan da cano dea ñga telay. Yanna kan ya bakbaket, ey Etkan kan yaanac na, ñga lalaki. Etkan mangñgoa ka ko kalsada mapan ko Lañgit. Kingoa na ñgamin y aaggemañgan...Issa ñga algao nebaga na kan kia Inana ñga dinacan pikam kajan ombet. Ngem medama kan no Etkan magangua itto inombet can ne Inanā manugan. Naluksao kan ne Etkan maganwa itto inombet can ne Inana Manugan. Naluksao kan ne Etkan a ta awan na ababag ñga sinukal ya imma. Nekuyat na kan ya bato ñga dinyan na nepoltog da kan ko Makaltog, awe kan daddumn ke Nabuañngan ay nawe kan dadduma ko Katablañgan. Yanna kian logedin addi nabalim ya kalsada ni Etkan ñga mapan ke Lañgit.*

There was a woman and her son who lived together in a happy life. When the son grew to be a young man he was very strong. He planned to build a road going to the sky. The name of the son was Etkan. He was so strong that he was able to carry great, huge stones for the construction of his road leading to the sky. Etkan worked enough days to complete three rest houses. He planted betel leaf and betel-nut for the people to chew when they should go trading to the sky. One morning, the son told his mother not to bring his food until he had finished two more rest houses. After he had been working hardly three hours, the mother came with his food. But the son had not yet completed what he had told his mother.
[152] Then he became angry and kicked away the erected stones leading to the sky...
98

000 back to their home and pounded up tobacco. After pounding it, they returned and put the powdered tobacco in the brook. Thus the fish was poisoned. So they could go home now, with the fish and the earrings. Mora took the earrings and wore them. On account of obtaining the earrings, Sodac and his wife came to think that they should hold a big *sayam*. So they began to call the *anitos* for the fish. First they spread a good blanket on the floor by the door-side and laid the fish on it. They invited many people from far and near. When the guests were all in the house, Sodac and Mora related their fish story.

845 So all the women held an *anito* till midnight. As they were enjoying their *say-am*, the hill behind the house burst open and flowed down and covered the house. Only Mora was not killed, as she was thrown out through the window. Early in the morning Mora miraculously gave birth. The miraculous thing about it was that the babies were twins: one was a small female pig and the other one was a normal male baby.

152 When the two babies were children the pig went
845 to the forest forever; and the boy went also to the forest and joined the other *anitos*. Mora did not know why her babies disappeared: so she kept looking for them; but she could not find them anymore. At last Mora became crazy.

THE MADATAG JUMP

103 Hundreds of years ago there were few inhabitants of Apayao. Madatag *barangay* was the only *barangay* which had many people. At that time they

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

608 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* [517] to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [519] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said [152] to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They